

August 26, 1950

THE *Nation*

Opening a Three-Part Discussion—

The Psychoanalytical Joy Ride

BY DOROTHY FERMAN

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A Plan for Korean Peace

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

✱

Strategy for a War of Ideas

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

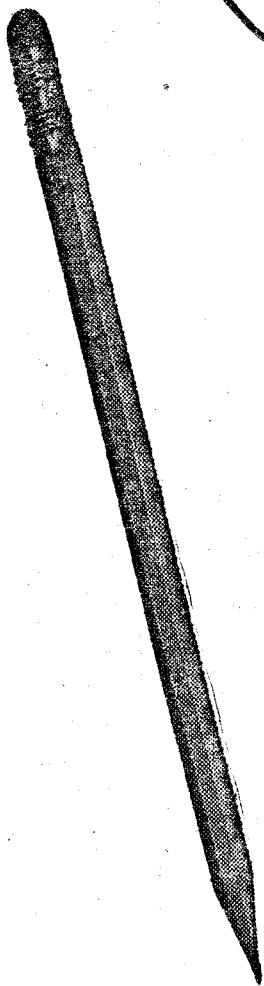
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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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A Plan for Korean Peace

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

WHEN Sir Benegal N. Rau put forward his plan for shifting to the non-permanent members of the Security Council the task of finding a solution of the Korean conflict, he inaugurated a week of furious thought among his colleagues. At first offered as a suggestion rather than a resolution, the idea was gently insinuated into the debate as a possible way of breaking or by-passing the deadlock that now holds the council in a state of rancorous inaction. What Sir Benegal proposed was that the lesser nations in the council, which could not "be suspected of any expansionist ambitions," should constitute a committee to consider any and all plans for ending the war in Korea, and also perhaps draw up a scheme for a future unified Korea.

The modest common sense of this suggestion is so apparent and has highlighted so sharply the council's futile wrangling, that its rejection by any nation would be difficult to justify—especially to the Asian peoples. Yet its acceptance by the Big Two also presents difficulties. In considering its implications, the Americans were obviously bothered by a division of the Security Council which automatically relegated the United States to a category also occupied by Russia; they feared too that a peace move not explicitly limited by the resolutions of June 25 and 27 would imply a retreat from the position then adopted. Russia boggled over the fact that, even if the June resolutions were not incorporated in the Rau proposal, all but two of the non-permanent members had endorsed them.

But both Russia and the United States were influenced toward acceptance by a desire to be counted on the side of the angels. The United States realizes now how damaging to its good repute in Asia was Mr. Acheson's abrupt rejection of Nehru's mediation proposals. Russia, having welcomed them, is in a bad position to turn down a new suggestion evidently designed to bring about the same result without forcing either side to yield in advance its basic claims.

For these reasons, although no decision has been reached as this page is written, the chances are fair that Sir Benegal's idea will be adopted in some form. Beside Yugoslavia and France several members favor it if only because it promises to end the nightmare at Lake

Success. They also realize that if a peaceful solution in Korea is to be found, it will probably come, not from any or all of the Big Five, but from India. In the face of the immense threat of a widening conflict, the determination of Asia to save itself, if not the world, is swiftly growing. It is a determination rooted in distrust of all the non-Asian powers, Russia included, and in a mounting sense of common interest. A U. N. official in Geneva suggested to me a couple of weeks ago that what seemed to be emerging was "a sort of Monroe Doctrine for Asia." The Rau proposal, together with the news that Nehru may visit Peking or, alternatively, head his country's delegation in next month's General Assembly, gives substance to that revolutionary idea.

THE Indian proposal had one result even before it was formally made: it jogged the United Nations into considering the future of Korea. If the drive of the Northern armies is actually checked and a retreat begins, talk of mediation and post-war plans will assume reality. Over the week-end, several tentative suggestions were put out by various delegates, some as comments on Ambassador Austin's speech of the previous Tuesday in which he hinted that General MacArthur "might decide" to drive the North Koreans not merely over the Thirty-eighth Parallel but back across their own territory. After which, Mr. Austin said, a U. N. body should be on hand to assist the Republic in the task of reuniting Korea. In the minds of some delegates, this implied a temporary U. N. trusteeship for Northern Korea.

But any attempt at pre-vision along these lines is likely to prove as futile as the debates in the council. If one thing is certain, it is that a united Korea will never be established under the republican dictatorship of Mr. Syngman Rhee, whose rule is almost as unpopular among the South Koreans as it would be in the territory of the invaders. The end of the war, whether it comes by defeat of the North or by mediation, must clear the way for a fresh start in Korea, north and south.

Other delegates, recognizing the absurdity of a post-war plan that envisages Mr. Rhee as the head of a united Korea, talked of a brief U. N. trusteeship over the whole country, a position which is bound to win approval of informed persons not officially committed either to the support of Syngman Rhee's regime or to the Communists. A possible solution, which we commend to the attention of Sir Benegal's committee,

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Vera Micheles Dean, whose *Strategy for a War of Ideas* appears on page 185, will cover the Security Council for *The Nation* during the next few weeks.

if and when it takes over, might follow lines like these:

1. The whole of Korea should be declared a temporary trust of the United Nations, to be administered as such during a limited period after the fighting stops.

2. A renewed call for cease-fire should be issued, and the North Korean forces should be ordered to withdraw beyond the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

3. The existing civil authorities in both North and South Korea should thereupon be required to maintain order and security in their respective regions.

4. A special commission of the United Nations should be appointed to supervise the carrying out of the cease-fire and the maintenance of order. It should also negotiate with representatives of South and North Korea with a view to reuniting the country on the basis of democratic elections, supervised by the United Nations.

5. Following election and the establishment of a government, the trusteeship should end and the new Korean Republic should be admitted to the United Nations.

Such a plan may not, at this stage, appeal either to South Korea or North Korea, either to Washington or Moscow. But it represents the kind of settlement necessary if the end of hostilities is to bring more than an uneasy truce enforced by an army of occupation.

Washington Fiddles

ALTHOUGH there are some signs that the wave of scare-buying is receding, prices are still rising. Among items recently marked up by manufacturers are machine tools, surgical cotton goods, television sets, various household appliances, and certain kinds of steel. It is difficult to see any justification for most of these increases and the standardized excuse that they reflect "higher labor and material costs" has a hollow ring. For there is good reason to believe that enhanced raw-material costs are frequently offset by reductions in overheads brought about by increased production. Moreover, the scale of profits is such that many producers could easily absorb a moderate rise in costs.

While inflationary fires tend to spread, Washington fiddles. The need of the hour is not necessarily wholesale controls, although it is certainly important that the Administration should have the authority to impose price and wage ceilings promptly if the situation demands them. But more urgent still is action to relieve the pressure of the demand created by the imposition of an increased defense budget on an already booming economy. One way to reduce that pressure is the restriction of credit. The President has already taken steps to tighten federal mortgage requirements and to limit public-housing expenditure: he has also asked Congress for authority to reimpose war-time controls of consumer credit.

Unfortunately, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board, the two agencies sharing responsibility for credit

policy, seem to be working at cross purposes. The former has just made a timid move toward tightening credit by raising the rediscount rate of the New York Reserve Bank from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is a gesture unlikely to check the rapidly swelling demand for loans unless accompanied by an increase in member banks' reserve requirements. However, the simultaneous announcement by the Treasury of a huge issue of thirteen-month $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent notes for refunding purposes makes stronger measures by the reserve authorities very difficult. For if this operation is to succeed, it will almost certainly be necessary for the reserve banks to buy large amounts of the notes—a step which will add to the supply of loanable funds. The Treasury is, of course, intent on holding down the cost of the debt service—an understandable aim: but the time seems to have come when it may have to choose between rather higher interest rates and the sacrifice of effective credit controls.

On the Congressional front, politics is impeding progress. True, the Senate Finance Committee has completely rewritten the tax bill passed earlier this summer by the House—its original purpose was to cut excise taxes—and has included increases in personal and corporation income taxes which should eventually yield an additional revenue of \$5,000,000,000 annually. As the House is not expected to raise any serious objections, this measure may become law by September 1. It is a step in the right direction, since it will cut into the deficit and thus hold back one of the chief sources of inflation. But many of its details deserve criticism. In particular, the proposed increases in corporation taxes are entirely inadequate and ought to be supplemented by an excess-profits levy. Further, the Administration ought to be granted authority to renegotiate defense contracts in view of the present tendency of contractors to jump prices sufficiently to compensate for higher taxes.

This authority should be made explicit in the Defense Production Bill now in the hands of the Senate. Unfortunately, instead of trying to rectify the defects in the House version of this measure, the Senate has threatened to compound them. Final action is being taken as we write and it is impossible to predict the exact form in which the bill will go to conference. But already a number of thoroughly bad amendments have been added, including one to prohibit any lowering of support prices for basic crops and another to protect meat-packers' margins. However, there are signs that the Administration Senators have been impressed by Mr. Truman's warning against "special-purpose amendments" and will succeed in cutting out some of the more restrictive clauses dreamt up by Taft, Bricker, and Wherry. If so, the bill, while very far from perfect, may turn out to be a usable weapon against inflation. The Administration will then have to lay considered plans for the employment of its new powers. That part of the job has been barely started.

The Shape of Things

ONE OF OUR NATIONAL EMBARRASSMENTS during World War II was the discrimination in our immigration laws against both our Chinese allies and the Japanese-Americans who were debarred from citizenship even while their American-born sons fought bravely in the armed forces. Today, because we have refused to correct the basic evils of the 1924 law forbidding citizenship to Orientals, we face the same embarrassment about the Koreans for whose liberty Americans are fighting 6,000 miles away. Some 3,000 Koreans who entered the country before 1924 are denied naturalization; no Koreans are now allowed to enter even under the quota system. In eleven states Korean nationals are prohibited from buying, holding, or leasing land; in twenty-six they cannot collect old-age pensions; in fifteen they are forbidden to marry persons of the white race. New York bars Koreans from engaging in twenty-seven occupations. The battle to wipe out these savage restrictions is being led, at present, by the American-born children of Japanese parents, and a bill removing all color and racial restrictions on citizenship has been passed by the House. But in the Senate, at the insistence of Senator Russell of Georgia, the bill has been whittled down to cover only Japanese nationals who had arrived in this country before 1924. The Koreans, no longer considered as Japanese nationals, would still be left out in the cold.

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LIBERAL CONGRESSMEN WHO HAVE PLEDGED a stiff fight against the Spanish-loan amendment, wantonly attached by the Senate to the E. C. A. appropriation bill, should be encouraged by the mounting volume of public protest. Many trade-union organizations here and in Europe have voiced their dismay at this proposed subsidy to the Spanish dictator. The Public Advisory Board of E. C. A., representing business, labor, and farm groups, has asked Congress not to associate E. C. A. with a scheme that has no relevance to its program. There is no need in these pages to repeat the political arguments against bolstering a fascist regime at a time when we are trying to convince the world that our chief aim is to insure the survival of democracy. But a word should be said about legal and political aspects of the loan which it is proposed will be made through the agency of the Export-Import Bank. Actually, that institution has already full authority to give credits to Spain provided that its requirements—which, by statute, it must apply to all clients—are satisfied. In brief, this means the borrower must guarantee that the loan will be used for constructive purposes and must show that it can meet interest charges and repay principal. The Spanish government has never attempted to comply with these

conditions, nor can it do so, at least as long as Franco pursues his present economic policies. To talk of a "loan" in such circumstances is misleading: what is really under discussion is a blank check—a \$100,000,000 gift of taxpayers' money with no strings attached.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S REFUSAL TO PUSH A Universal Military Training bill at the present time, although he has previously recommended it, appears to be based on the unarguable fact that what we need immediately is more trained combat troops, not a long-range program for giving every youth a little rudimentary training. If the world situation continues explosive, this country will not be able to escape a permanent military training system, perhaps much more rigorous in nature than any now being discussed. It is natural for advocates of U. M. T. to use the present crisis in Korea as a means of getting Congress to adopt the program they desire. But the U. M. T. system advocated by Defense Secretary Johnson would not be the quickest way of increasing our combat troops; for that, the present Selective Service system is preferable. Mr. Truman's general support of U. M. T. is so clearly written into his record as President, and into his repeated requests for legislation, that Congress would be well advised to heed him now when he warns that the issue should not be allowed to distract attention from more urgently pressing matters.

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FOR ONCE, WE FAVOR CENSORSHIP—FORMAL military censorship, that is, of news dispatches from South Korea. The system now used adds an intolerable psychological burden to the "routine" dangers and exhaustions of the correspondent's job. He is required to censor his own material but warned that "unwarranted criticism of command decisions or the conduct of allied soldiers on the battlefield will not be tolerated." Nobody has explained how a reporter should decide what does or does not constitute a breach of security or just where to establish the fine line between "unwarranted" and "warranted" criticism. All any correspondent knows is that General MacArthur's public information section will act as "sole judge and jury" after the event. So allied newspapermen must grope through the fog, seeking refuge in elaborate circumlocutions. At the same time, MacArthur has exploited the situation—which he created—by acting as divine intercessor on behalf of several writers who got into hot water with the lower brass. Worst of all, owing to this nebulous state of affairs, security has been violated in Korea as never before in our military history. It is time the armed forces took over the blue pencil and released reporters from a responsibility they should never have been forced to assume.

De Gaulle Again

Paris, August 18

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S reappearance in the political arena is interesting from several points of view. First, it points up the concern with which Europe watches the latest developments around Pusan. Second, it shows that De Gaulle, who has lost much ground in the past year, is convinced that if he does not seize the present moment of anxiety to offer himself for a second time as the savior of the country, his political future will be one of accelerating decline; in his message this week the heir or Joan of Arc and the politician were as usual clearly combined.

The statement had been carefully promoted in advance by associates more politically astute than De Gaulle's romantic propaganda chief, André Malraux. In two much discussed articles published in *La Voix du Nord* and in *Le Rouge et Le Noir*, André Stibio announced De Gaulle's determination to be again "the man who aroused France from its state of prostration and defeat," while in the weekly *Carrefour* of August 15, Louis Terrenoire went further and defended the legitimacy of "*insurrection conditionnelle*" against a regime unable to cope with the dangers threatening the nation.

But it would be a grave error to interpret the move as a pure political maneuver. Behind it is Korea. According to people close to the General, his major worry is that the United States will allow itself to be "fully diverted toward Asia" in a war of unlimited dimensions which will absorb all its available strength. In that case, in the opinion of the General, Europe will have to wait a long time before Washington's promises of military help can become effective. Accepting the government's view, as expressed in its memorandum to Washington, that "France must be defended, not liberated," De Gaulle questions the value of everything done so far to stop the Russians, if the Russians should choose tomorrow to send their more than fifty first-line divisions across the Rhine. He finds most dangerous of all the complaisance with which some people greet such gestures as the proposal made in the Council of Europe for a "European army." If he regards Americans as too immature to qualify for supreme and exclusive direction of the Western coalition, he is still more suspicious of the readiness of the British, especially under a Labor government, to send their men fast enough and in sufficient numbers across the Channel. Thus it is logical for the General to conclude that "in Europe there is only France"—and in France, only De Gaulle.

He demanded the creation in three years, but beginning immediately, of fifteen French permanent combat divisions, forty reserve divisions ready to be mobilized, complementary forces in every district of France to resist invasion and to fight the "separatists"—that is, the Com-

munists—and an air cover of 5,000 planes. With his customary disregard for economic and social problems, however, he did not say how such an army is to be financed. De Gaulle carefully avoided any reference to the "*insurrection conditionnelle*," merely calling for new elections, which, he asserted, would establish his massive support. He declared himself ready to head a government of resistance, ready to fight alone if necessary against any attack. These are brave words. But the General, like most of the other Western strategists, forgets one thing: that French workers are not going to war at the behest of a regime that sacrifices all social gains to rearmament and rules out a three-thousand-franc increase in monthly salaries.

J. A. DEL VAYO

Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, August 18

FOUR days after the event, Democrats here still wore smug expressions as they savored the political adroitness of the White House announcement that New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer would be lend-leased to Mexico as Ambassador, thus clearing the way for the election of a new mayor of the nation's biggest city. A jittery Administration, guided by Bronx Boss Edward J. Flynn, had with one master stroke relieved the Democrats of a Mayor whose emotionalisms and vagaries were becoming a headache, and guaranteed that the huge vote of preponderantly Democratic New York City would be brought out in an election in which a governor and a United States Senator would also be chosen.

The New York *Herald Tribune's* renewed demand that Governor Dewey should run again echoed clear to the Potomac, and Republicans here yearned to counter the Truman-Flynn gambit by blocking O'Dwyer's confirmation in the Senate. But New York's Republican Senator Ives sharply rebuked suggestions that he brand the nomination "personally obnoxious," and it was extremely unlikely that the appointment could be checked by less drastic measures. O'Dwyer made an acceptable record in his first term as Mayor, and his personal charm and previous acquaintance with Mexico suggest that he might make a successful ambassador.

The maneuver must be discussed in political terms because it is perfectly plain that the Republicans are turning the Korean fighting into a campaign issue with such insistence, and apparently such effectiveness, that the Administration seems doomed to conduct a desperate defensive battle until November. Mr. Truman will not agree with anyone who thinks he can ignore the possibility that the Republicans might recapture the House or Senate or both. Even though they are now the minor-

ity, the Republicans are attacking the Administration's whole Far East policy with such vigor and venom that the President's freedom of action is severely limited. No matter how keenly he and Secretary Acheson may recognize the genuine peril of allowing the Soviets to appear as the only powerful friends of the regime which in fact rules China, the Republicans are trying to force us into full alliance with Chiang Kai-shek.

Politics is never a gentlemanly game, but something particularly ugly is happening here this summer. The President and Senator Wherry exchange epithets as if they really mean them—which they do. Wherry keeps flinging the word "perverts" at the State Department, and McCarthyism continues to dominate the campaign.

The country, it is generally agreed, supports what the President did in Korea, but the appalling state of our unpreparedness revealed by the fighting has made the Administration vulnerable. Defense Secretary Johnson is so vulnerable, indeed, that the Democratic high brass must be wondering whether he is worth trying to save. Secretary Acheson is vulnerable for different reasons: he is the direct victim of McCarthyism and the direct target of the Republican Senate pronouncement on Far Eastern policy, which, however unrealistic, sums up attacks that have already compelled shocking concessions.

The Administration's theoretical majorities seem out of hand even on serious domestic affairs. Senator Pat McCarran's Judiciary Committee yesterday reported out an anti-communism bill incorporating all the worst features of the Mundt-Ferguson bill that the President detests and has vowed to veto, no matter what the political cost. Perhaps McCarran, a Democrat up for reelection in Nevada, is simply avenging the defeat he suffered when Mr. Truman forced through a liberalized displaced-persons law, but as of the moment, the Administration seems on the verge of a disastrous setback.

All of this indicates how sharply the political picture has changed since before Korea, when the President was blithely contemplating a series of "whistle-stop" cross-country tours to help Democratic candidates. He is unlikely to have time or opportunity for frankly political tours now, but as party leader as well as Chief Executive, he must do what he can. Hence the importance of the O'Dwyer maneuver. The Democrats can benefit nationally, as well as in New York, by an exciting campaign that brings out a large vote. Boss Ed Flynn might, of course, kick away the advantages by insisting on the nomination of stodgy wheelhorse candidates instead of aggressive liberals for governor of the state and mayor of New York City. This danger is obviously behind Senator Lehman's reluctance to announce his candidacy for reelection. The Senator wants to be sure of his running mates before he commits himself and by so doing forfeits much of his influence over the other choices.

Our "Unknown" Aged

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

Washington, August 16

MANY who attended the National Conference on Aging here from August 13 to 15 seemed somewhat surprised at how much excitement there is about the problems of old age. There were 808 delegates from all over the country, traveling at their own expense and giving up their customary vacation. All were broadly informed about the subject, but they became increasingly aware in four sessions that a revolution is at hand for which we are unprepared. This was not a routine gathering with conclusions drawn up in advance. It was the first meeting of its kind in history. The presence of a wide variety of experts—scientists, physicians, teachers, welfare workers, churchmen, economists, industrialists, union leaders, sociologists, agricultural experts, and psychologists—revealed an understanding that the social and personal problems of old age cannot be met by narrow specialists. A profound change is taking place in the process of life itself, affecting all of us in all of our functions.

There are 11,500,000 "displaced citizens" in this country over the age of 65 who live among us but worlds apart from us. In some states, like New Hampshire, they make up more than 10 per cent of the total population. By 1975, their number will be about 20,000,000. But we know next to nothing about their way of living or their needs. We know that the majority of them are poor, sick, bored, mentally and emotionally frustrated—in short, thoroughly unhappy—and that whenever or wherever we try to do something about this pitiful situation we meet the iron curtain of prejudice, ignorance, lack of imagination, and lack of funds.

Certain facts have been carefully accumulated by the Federal Security Agency, which sponsored this conference. Older people constitute the most rapidly expanding bloc in our population. Most of them are dependent in whole or in part on the earnings of others. The proportion of dependents is constantly growing in relation to the earning population. During the past half century, women of 65 years and older have come to outnumber men of that age. Today there are about 100 women 65 years and over for every 90 men. The country has changed from a rural to an urban nation, which means fewer job opportunities for the aged and smaller family dwellings for them to double-up in.

The ideal of charitable old-age homes in which elderly people can be grouped is only a dream. Four-fifths of the aged are quartered with their relatives;

only 4.3 per cent live in institutions or hotels. In 1948, about 3,500,000 of the 11,000,000 aged in this country had no direct income of their own; of the 7,500,000 with some income, almost one-third earned less than \$500 a year. Most of those who had income got it, as did other adults, from working at jobs. But the long-time trend in the relative number of workers among older persons—interrupted by war periods—has been constantly downward. Chronic diseases are the leading causes of death in the older age groups. Older people are more subject to illness than others.

Wherever we try to penetrate to the roots of these hard facts we find disagreement, confusion of thinking, and lack of pertinent knowledge. The biological process of aging, the mechanism of chronic disease, the mental and emotional and political attitudes of the aged are widely unexplored. There is no agreement about educational methods which might be applied to them, economic measures which might improve their social standing, how to create comfort for them in housing, diets, recreation, religious observance, or how to augment their capacity, ability, and willingness to learn and to work.

The conference in Washington found out, at least, what we do not know about aging. And I feel that each delegate was deeply moved by the over-all willingness and insight of the participants to conclude that things have to be changed and changed quickly.

There was general agreement that our older population, now bitterly neglected, is a tremendous potential asset to this nation; that the aged have the right to lead proud, productive, and independent lives to the end; that many of the traditionally grim concomitants of aging are superficially produced and avoidable. There was agreement that sickness is not necessarily attached to aging; that idleness and loneliness and mental deterioration can be overcome by educational, economic, and social measures; that we must halt the foolish intellectual waste of our later years. Above all, we must reject the idiotic concept of compulsory retirement at a fixed age whether or not people are willing and able to work.

Most of us at the conference felt that a new type of human being is in the making, a new type of society, which may for the first time in human history have the face of maturity. We could clearly foresee that our schools, our houses, our institutions of higher learning, our labor relations, our family structures will look entirely different twenty years from now. It was this vision that infected every participant of this gathering with enthusiasm. A great amount of valuable experience and information was contributed. To name but one, I was greatly impressed by a flexible retirement scheme reported by representatives of the rug industry. It leaves the question of whether a man should retire up to the individual as he reaches the age—62 to 68—at which

DR. GUMPERT is a New York physician who writes frequently for The Nation on new developments in medicine.

his pension becomes payable; makes it a matter of joint decision by union and management from 68 to 72; places it at the option of management from then on. Many equally imaginative plans and suggestions were produced by each of the ten sections into which the conference was divided, and seeds of stimulation and thought were planted all over the country.

The only thing to be regretted is that the conference could not agree unanimously that the federal office

which sponsored, prepared, and conducted this meeting should continue to serve as a clearing house for the problems of the aged. Some lonely dissenters from the ranks of those whose profession it is to manage private charities prevented such an agreement. But there can be no question that help and guidance from the Federal Security Agency are most urgently needed now that enthusiasm and conviction must be transformed into work and into results.

The Psychoanalytical Joy Ride

BY DOROTHY FERMAN

MY HUSBAND and I were recently divorced upon the suggestion of his psychiatrist. Several weeks later my husband voluntarily entered a sanitarium to be treated for depression. I, too, am depressed; I'm also angry. In our lives there was no mother-in-law, no "other" man or woman. But there was always a psychiatrist.

When I first met my husband six years ago, he had been seeing his analyst five times a week for eighteen months, which was then considered about the average course of treatment for persons with ordinary problems. His trouble derived primarily, as far as I could judge, from a bad experience in his first marriage. Jim was a social-work executive in daily contact with psychiatry. To him it was something everyone could use, a panacea for many ills. He said that in his profession to have had an analysis was as desirable as to hold an advanced academic degree.

The psychiatric viewpoint and vocabulary which he applied to all situations were very impressive; the theories appeared reasonable and enlightening. I read half a dozen books on this subject, and soon I too began to spout the jargon that Jim and his friends used so lavishly. Yet I couldn't help being surprised at the intensity of Jim's resentment against his mother, who had been dead for many years. It was easier to understand the more recent hurt inflicted by his wife, but his attitude toward both, it occurred to me, should have been reasonably ameliorated after some 360 sessions with an analyst. I wondered vaguely whether the probing of the analyst and his effort to remove guilt feelings

from the mind of his patient had not needlessly emphasized old grievances better left forgotten.

Throughout our courtship I was uncomfortably conscious of another presence. I felt that all the nuances of our relationship were being carefully scrutinized by both Jim and his doctor. Sometimes it struck me that my young man's remarks were quotations from his analyst. Once when he was coming to see me, I found myself setting out three glasses for cocktails. I learned eventually that I was therapy prescribed by the doctor and found effective. Jim said he was happier than he had been in many years.

A year later Jim was offered a better job in another part of the country. When he asked me to marry him, I knew that it was with the approval of his psychiatrist. I was delighted. The move was exactly what we needed, I innocently thought, to put a decisive end to a business that Jim seemed reluctant to end. I planned more or less subconsciously to supplant the services of the analyst in a woman's way. We would eradicate any vestiges of bad feeling that Jim might retain from the past with good feelings about our marriage. I was pleased when he said I would be his "diploma from psychoanalysis."

But it didn't work out that way. The new job brought new difficulties and the new marriage new problems, and Jim kept going back for more and more psychotherapy. His dependence on psychiatric aid had become such a habit that he seemed unable to act decisively without it. I was not only frightened at this sign but secretly jealous. Problems which I thought he should have shared with his wife in a good marital partnership he took to his psychiatrist instead. I have the impression that in doing so he magnified those problems far beyond their actual importance.

Maybe I'm wrong, but I feel strongly that we might have made our marriage succeed if we had been left to our own resources. Jim's children and I developed an

DOROTHY FERMAN is a former newspaperwoman and advertising copywriter. The editors gave a number of prominent psychiatrists an opportunity to read her indictment before its publication. In two articles to follow, Dr. Fredric Wertham will support her argument and Dr. Gregory Zilboorg will criticize it.

excellent relationship. We had a home we all enjoyed and a stimulating group of friends who believed that Jim and I were as happy as people can hope to be in a complex civilization. Jim's public demeanor was as outgoing as that of any properly adjusted person. It was exclusively for my benefit and that of his psychiatrist that he relaxed into morbidity.

Years ago I read somewhere that more than half the physical ills about which people consult doctors would disappear in the normal course of events if left alone or treated with ordinary common sense. My husband would have been the first to label "hypochondriac" a woman who imagined or made much of a minor physical illness. He would have been among the first to recognize and discourage over-dependence upon a parent. Personally, I can't see that a mother's apron strings are much worse than a psychiatrist's couch. Maybe it is unsophisticated and "naive oversimplification" to handle one's own problems to the best of one's ability, to learn early in life to "sublimate" a disability in one phase of living by positive behavior in another. But something like this was the basis of mental health for hundreds of years before Adler, Jung, and Freud.

After two years my husband received the offer of another job in another town. The transition from one doctor to another was again a painful process.

Eventually an analysis for me became a big issue in our lives. If I had been better informed at the outset, I might have suspected it would come to this, since some theorists feel that the analyzed are not thoroughly at home with the un-analyzed. I resisted for several reasons, not the least of which was financial. I would have had to go back to work to pay for my analysis instead of keeping house for Jim and the children. And in addition I could not see what it would do for me. Not that I consider myself to be without personal idiosyncrasies. But I am fairly well adjusted, with no marked grievances against life, and Jim was unable to point out where psychoanalysis would help. I think now that what it might do for me was less important than the fact that it would initiate me into the cult.

At the end Jim told me that if I had submitted to analysis, our marriage would have been saved. There are times when I wish I might have embraced the faith. Then I remember that Jim had been prostrating himself before the altar of mental health for seven years and still seems a long way from what passes for "normal." In recent years I have known dozens of men and women in one stage or another of psychoanalysis. Before, during, and after, they have one thing in common with the rest of mankind: they are full of foibles, even as you and I. With or without psychiatry there seems to be little perfection on this planet. I will not say that psychiatry failed to help my husband solve his problems. I do say that he grew a new crop of them in spite of psychiatry, because he happens to be problem-prone.

In my effort to understand Jim's mental processes I have talked with his doctors and got a different opinion from every one. One exacted a promise from me that I would not seek a divorce because "Jim would have nothing left." The first doctor assured me that neither Jim's first wife nor I had much to do with his emotional upsets. The last felt that divorce for us was inevitable. When Jim went to him for help during his climactic spell of despondency, I realized that divorce was what Jim himself wanted.

Each doctor described the situation as he saw it, and it became obvious to me that with years of scientific training behind them psychiatrists are, nevertheless, just people, with varying degrees of insight and varying-skill in straightening out human relationships. Their understanding, like that of everyone else, is colored by their own childhood, their own education for life, their own emotional and sexual experiences. Among them two or three marriages are not uncommon. Maladjustment and even suicide are as frequent among mind doctors as the rest of the population. In a jest that was at least part truth, one famous analyst said that if psychoanalysis were a more exact science, half the doctors now practicing it would be prohibited from doing so by their own personality disorders. Yet under the rules of the medical profession no layman can get help in distinguishing the skilled from the fumbling. Consequently, the position of power accorded the psychiatrist by the *mores* of our time seems dangerous to me and frightening.

My protest is not intended as a condemnation of psychotherapy. Everyone knows the great good it has done the mentally ill. Prospects for the future, it is said, are even brighter. But as a science that is still young it has been surrounded with the hoopla of a dozen Hollywood films. Doctors who are critical of patent medicines might recognize an analogy. They tell you it is dangerous for the public to depend on nostrums which often fail to live up to their advertising. So it is with psychoanalysis. Superbly effective in many cases, it seems useless and even harmful in others.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

TOO LATE" is a cry that dogs the great powers' foot-steps in China. . . . Any student of history knows that sooner or later China will cast off extra-territoriality as Turkey has cast it off. The only questions are When and How. Will the powers act voluntarily, or will they wait until China, angered, does it at the cost of blood?— August 26, 1925.

My husband's retreat into dependency under the influence of psychoanalysis is not, they say, uncommon. Theoretically the psychiatrist does not give advice or make decisions for his patient—he merely helps him to make up his own mind. The extent to which this is true depends of course upon the personality of the analyst. The skilful practitioner is supposed first to gain his patient's complete confidence and then, hundreds of sessions later, at just the right moment, untie the bond, leaving the patient immediately capable of helping himself. Obviously, this is not always successfully accomplished, and the patient is left weakened, not strengthened, by psychiatric aid.

Just as there was a tendency in the old days to ignore the psychogenic origin of physical illness, today there is one toward the opposite extreme: a person suffering from an ulcerated colon or with other symptoms for which there is no known medical cure is often sent to a psychiatrist for treatment. It seems reasonable to

ascribe depression to psychological causes; yet any woman who is nervous and depressed during her menstrual cycle knows that these moods can be engendered by physiological causes. One wonders if the neurologists or endocrinologists or other doctors of medicine are satisfied to leave the treatment for depression entirely to the psychiatrists.

Only those who can afford to pamper themselves receive the full psychoanalytical treatment, and it is merely an accident if these include the people who need it most. Appointment books are crowded with the names of men and women who consume countless hours of doctors' time with matters formerly resolved by simpler methods. And it is common knowledge that most of our mental hospitals are understaffed and overcrowded. I look forward to a future when these wasted hours may be spent on research that will make psychoanalysis a more reliable science, or devoted to the treatment of the truly sick.

A Strategy for a War of Ideas

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

DURING the past two months we have taken a long step forward on the ideological battlefield by synchronizing our policy in Korea with the larger objectives of the United Nations. Going at last beyond mere lip service to the international organization, we have begun to act as if we really meant to make it what we have often proclaimed it to be—the foundation-stone of American foreign policy. But even after we had taken the fateful decision to hoist the United Nations flag over General MacArthur's headquarters, on-the-spot observers in Korea and in Washington wondered how apt we would prove at that most difficult warfare of all—the warfare of ideas. Why is it that we, who have such unrivaled instruments of communication, have found it so difficult to convey our ideals and beliefs to other peoples—not merely those who are hostile or suspicious of our intentions, but even to our best friends and potential allies in Western Europe?

The principal answer is that, until now, no matter how much we talk about living in a period of revolution, we mentally refuse to admit to ourselves the implications of the revolutionary ferment at work in the world. We read in our newspapers and hear on the radio that far-reaching changes are under way all over the globe.

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Yet we act as if we hope that, by looking away, we can cause these changes to vanish like morning haze, leaving us free to return to a past many of us still view with nostalgia. We think of this country as a nation born of revolution, and certainly have the right to consider ourselves a progressive people. Yet to our friends abroad we appear traditionalists who insist on clinging to the habits and privileges of bygone days.

Because of our own uncertainty, we often give the impression, through the *Voice of America* or other media, that in our repugnance for Communist revolution we are prepared to resist all change and become defenders of the *status quo*.

One of our major difficulties in striking the right note is, by a sad paradox, the very wealth which, under more favorable circumstances, could become an important contribution to world stabilization. It is difficult for people who are infinitely better off than the majority of the world's population to realize the state of mind created in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and even in parts of Europe, by a grinding poverty from which there seems to be no escape except by resort to force. This is the soil of frustration and despair that nurtures political extremism, whether it is fascism or communism. It is to the poignantly modest aspirations of the hungry, the homeless, the illiterate, that Communist propaganda makes effective appeals—and appeals couched not only, as most of us believe, in purely material economic terms, but also in terms of the spiritual

satisfaction that can be achieved through heightened participation in a more closely integrated society, even if integration is achieved through authoritarian methods. Until we can get down to the "rice roots," until we can make our imagination encompass the problems and needs of peoples so much less favored than ourselves, our propaganda will fall short of its targets. It may be heard, but it will not be comprehended.

What can we do to make ourselves sound convincing abroad? Perhaps most important of all, since our principal contest with Russia will continue to lie in the as yet non-industrialized areas of the world, is the necessity to state our views on the future of imperialism as clearly as possible. The revolutions now sweeping Asia are the end-results of centuries of misery, maladjustments, and native risings inspired in many instances by our own eighteenth-century rejection of British colonial rule. They would have occurred even if Karl Marx had not written *Das Kapital* and Lenin had not seized power in Russia. When we hold the Russians alone responsible for these revolutions, we greatly overestimate the influence of the Kremlin and greatly underestimate our own. For it is we, as missionaries, businessmen, educators, who carried overseas the concept of change that encouraged Filipinos and Indonesians, Chinese and Koreans, to revolt against both colonial rule and native feudalism. If now we recoil from the effects of these revolutions and leave them to be exploited by the Communists, we shall have only ourselves to blame if the colonial areas turn away from the United States.

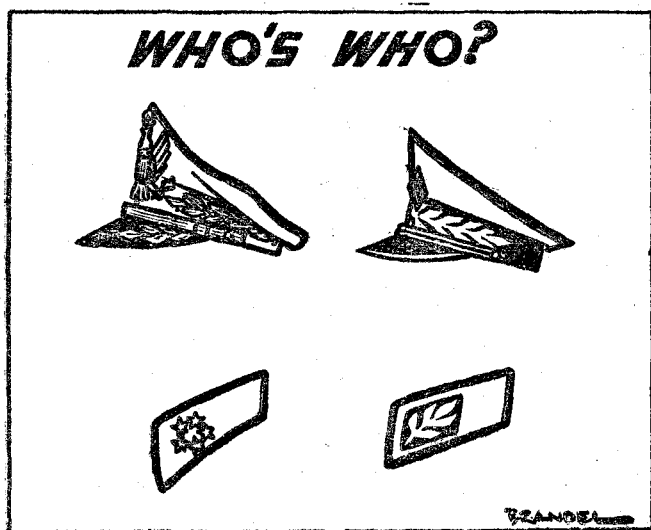
The Soviet government's most important mistake since World War II has been its attempt, in the name of international communism, to follow in Eastern Europe the colonial pattern set by the Western powers and once eloquently denounced by Lenin. There is no reason to assume that nations but newly come to independence in Asia will welcome Russia's effort to pick up "the white man's burden" laid down by Britain or the Netherlands

and, eventually, France. But neither is it wise to assume that these nations will take United States actions in their territories solely on faith. They have long admired the anti-colonial policy of the American people. But it is our misfortune that, coming late upon the scene of erstwhile colonial conquests, we are bound to inherit some of the stigma attached in the past to colony-owning powers. By our actions, and not by mere propaganda, we shall have to demonstrate that our opposition to Russia does not mean an attempt on our part to occupy lands within the orbit of the U. S. S. R. or to make their political, economic, and social systems conform with our way of life. No matter how much money we may be prepared to expend on the Point Four program and other development measures, we must bend over backwards to show that our financial aid is not merely another, if unusually benevolent, form of imperialism.

HOW can we achieve this voluntary abstention from the exercise of power which has hitherto proved impossible for a great and dynamic nation? We can do so by persevering in the pattern we set for ourselves in Korea—by continuing to mesh every action we take into the framework of the United Nations, where our objectives and our methods can be freely scrutinized and commented upon by the nations of Asia and other non-industrialized areas. It is significant that Michael L. Hoffman, reporting from Geneva on July 20 about the work of the U. N. Economic and Social Council, wrote in the *New York Times*: "The development of a United Nations alternative to imperialism, as the only possible means of saving areas of the world from Communist imperialism, is being discussed and studied in the United Nations circles here."

If this alternative is to become feasible, however, the United States will have to redefine its own views on three major issues: socialism, communism, and race relations. The majority of Americans are opposed to socialism as a system for this country. But this should not blind us to the fact that socialism in Europe and elsewhere has proved the most effective bulwark against Communist penetration. To misunderstand the role of socialism today is to commit the "blunder that could destroy the West," in the words of Adolf A. Berle, who is himself opposed to socialism in the United States. And again to quote Michael Hoffman, a United Nations program for bringing order and progress to Asia and Africa "is likely in economic aspects to call for policies much closer to traditional socialism than to traditional American capitalism."

In passing judgment on communism, too, it is essential to distinguish between those aspects to which we must, on principle, remain opposed, and those which, if sponsored by governments other than that of the U. S. S. R., we would support and even applaud. We



[Answer on page 189]

must oppose imperialism and aggression whether practiced by Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Russia—or the United States. But we must ask ourselves whether we oppose land reform, industrialization of underdeveloped countries, separation of church and state. If we do not, then we should back such measures irrespective of whether or not they are also backed by Communists. Otherwise, long after the Korean war is over we shall find ourselves in the stultifying situation of having to negate many of the things we ourselves believe in for fear of turning out to be on the same side as the Communists; and in that sense will allow our foreign policy to be determined, not by partnership in the United Nations, but by Moscow.

We have made great strides since World War II in the direction of offering greater opportunities to the American Negro, and realization of the long way we have yet to travel should not detract from pride in this record. But we are still far from having developed an attitude free of the taint of "white supremacy." If we persist in treating Koreans and others whom we claim to be saving for democracy as "gooks," "backward

peoples," and so on, we shall soon discover that what Gunnar Myrdal, in analyzing our Negro problem, called "the American dilemma" has become our principal dilemma in world affairs.

The real test of our quality as a world leader in the United Nations will be our capacity to understand other peoples and take their aspirations, and not ours alone, into consideration in our blueprints for the future. In plotting a strategy of ideas we do not face an insuperable task. All that we need to do is to translate into practice the ideals we have been preaching for many years—ideals of anti-colonialism, international cooperation, racial equality, greater rights for labor. In the war of ideas which, far more effectively than the atomic or hydrogen bomb, will determine the shape of the world, we have nothing to fear if we but keep faith with the best that is in ourselves. This may seem a lightweight weapon to those who place their main reliance on armaments. Yet in other seedtimes of history, the courage to see fellow-beings with compassion and to translate compassion into practical policy has served to bring light and order out of seeming chaos.

Ulster and the Labor Government

BY GRIFFIN BARRY.

London, August

AMONG the ten Ulster members who sit on Tory benches at every session of the House of Commons, a bright new penny appeared last February. His politics are those of the government of Northern Ireland, Britain's small and robustly Conservative dependency across the Irish Sea, but his occupation, for a member of Parliament, is unique. He is a clergyman, son of a Church of Ireland (Protestant) bishop. Not in more than 150 years has a man of the cloth sat at Westminster, or even been returned to Parliament.

The ban on clergymen in the British House of Commons was apparently settled once and for all in 1801. An act of that year clearly barred "any person ordained to the office of priest or deacon." Parliament believed that its long struggle against ecclesiastical domination, extending through the previous century and before, was ended; from that year on Britain grew used to a wholly secular House. To make sure, in 1829 the door was locked twice. The Roman Catholic laity was enfranchised in that year, but its priests were specifically enjoined from standing for Parliament.

From these dead issues ghosts have arisen to plague

the Labor government in the difficult summer of 1950. Nominally, the government's majority is only five. It has fallen as low as two. "A taxi accident could sink us," a rueful Labor member said before adjournment, remembering how difficult it can be to reach the House quickly through the crowded London streets when a show of strength is called for unexpectedly. On May 26 Winston Churchill, for whom as leader of the Opposition a bedroom is reserved in the House, took advantage of fortune. He warned the government that he would advise the Reverend J. G. MacManaway, representing some 80,000 West Belfast electors, "to exercise his mandate." (In 1869 Gladstone had severed the political connection of the Irish Protestant Church with the Crown and by doing so had perhaps given this particular clergyman a claim to his seat.) At any rate, the question had been considered for some weeks by a Select Committee of the present House. No agreement had been reached, and the matter had been referred to the courts. Asked for an opinion, the Attorney General had reported that the "arguments appear evenly balanced."

Thereupon the politicians took over. After Mr. Churchill's announcement Herbert Morrison drily informed the opposition that if the West Belfast member should vote and "unfortunate legal consequences follow," the government could not promise to bring in

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"indemnifying legislation." Smiles were noticeable at the word "indemnifying." It refers to a penalty of £500 for every day a member has sat and voted in the House who is found, even later on, to be ineligible. On that matter the law is explicit.

So the matter rests. The Ulster cleric has taken his parliamentary oath, but up to the moment he has not voted. On June 10 the *Times* in a lengthy editorial urged the government to bring in legislation which shall nullify the "obsolete" act of 1801 and enable all priests, "even those in communion with Rome," to sit in the House of Commons. To this idea the government has so far turned a blank face. On June 27 the matter was referred to the Privy Council for an advisory opinion which would not be binding on the High Court if that body subsequently heard the case. Meanwhile, only nine Ulster members, not ten, voted against the government from the Tory benches.

Two anti-partition members from Ulster view these proceedings with some irony. Both are elderly Roman Catholic laymen. They were re-elected as usual in 1950 from anti-partitionist constituencies in the Ulster counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, fragmented portions of the ancient nine-county Ulster which the British included in the government of Northern Ireland in 1922. One has abstained from entering the governing body of the nation which divides his country. The other, Anthony Mulvey from mid-Ulster, hesitates. In the 1945 Parliament he sat almost mute, refusing to exercise his mandate to legislate in the affairs of Britain but raising his voice against the Ireland bill of 1949, which again sealed the status quo in Ulster. Next month he may return to London, if only to remark that nemesis appears to be following a Labor government which extended indefinitely the tenure on office of Ulster Tories who combine to threaten its life.

In Ulster itself a number of infringements against civil liberty have been very discreetly checked. Some of those reported in *The Nation* in August, 1949, had disappeared a fortnight later. Forty-odd regulations were dropped. These involved liability to arrest without warrant, imprisonment incommunicado without access to legal advice, and, more significantly, liability to arrest for having transgressed the whole body of regulations which have grown up around the Special Powers Act of 1922, with no proof that a particular provision had been violated. All these denials of the liberty of the subject involve basic democratic rights, as established by the Legal Committee of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg last year. Eleven criteria for these rights were set forth by the committee. Nine of the eleven were found to have been violated in powers given to Ulster magistrates for the past twenty-seven years by the Northern Ireland Parliament. One provision was not withdrawn. The Ulster Minister of Home Affairs may still reimpose all

the special powers at his discretion. An armed police force of 13,000 men called "B" Specials and recruited from Orange Lodges, as well as the Royal Irish Constabulary, is maintained to police the regulations as before.

The Strasbourg cleansing and the response in Belfast were meagerly reported in the British press. Perhaps this reticence was due to the fact that no Englishman took a hand in the process, though none moved to stop it either. It was brought about by officers of a new sovereign state, once British, lately linked to Britain, however loosely, and now as independent as you please—the Republic of Ireland. The Republic's delegates at Strasbourg were the Irish Foreign Minister, Sean MacBride, and former Premier Eamon de Valera.

Caution, not yet an Irish political virtue, would perhaps have kept a place for the new republic in a modernized British Commonwealth. From that vantage point, a sober approach to the anomaly of Irish partition—one or two men in the present Dublin government are entirely capable of a sober approach—might have ended the offense by now. Some British are not unwilling. Not long ago the Manchester *Guardian* termed the division of Ireland "an economic and geographical absurdity."

As it is, nineteenth-century British imperialism survives embarrassingly in Ulster. Many people in Britain are aware that the declared purpose of the repressions there has not been, for some years, the real one. Repressions began in the nineteen twenties in a genuine fear that an isolationist revolution would sweep in from the insurrectionary south over the strategic Ulster rocks and harbors and deprive Britain of naval bases against its foreign enemies of the moment. In the name of this old apprehension they have been continued against a rising democracy of disadvantaged workers, mainly Roman Catholic, whose insurgence threatens, not the partly socialized Britain of today, but a logical oligarchy of employers.

The social views of this Belfast group were sufficiently indicated in the Northern Ireland Parliament in 1946. In that year a property qualification was added to the franchise in a six-county area gerrymandered wherever possible to assure that Roman Catholics shall be outvoted. Certain classes of business concerns were given a plural vote, up to six. Groups of poorer workers having no leases on their dwellings were deprived of any vote whatever. Hugh Minford, a Conservative defending the measure, said: "There are only two classes in Northern Ireland—the loyal and the disloyal. The loyal people are the Orangemen. The disloyal are the Socialists, the Communists, and the Roman Catholics."

How Labor-governed Britain felt about this attitude was made clear last spring when 140 members of the House of Commons refused to vote for the sealing of

partition contained in the Ireland bill. Party orders were disobeyed; five junior ministers lost their jobs for the principle of the thing and paid the penalty, grinning. But the big brass of the Labor Party were taking no chances. It was election year. A stalemate between the British right and the British left was then only a possibility. Now it has arrived.

The stalemate is, of course, not only Britain's this summer. It holds through Europe, immobilized in the fear of a greater war than any the Irish can bring about.

BESIDE THE POINT

SINCE July 20 Fred Snyder of Wichita, Kansas, has been wearing glasses that make people and things appear upside down and backwards. He's wearing them in the interest of an inverted-vision experiment conceived by Dr. N. H. Pronko, head of the psychology department at the University of Wichita. Dr. Pronko wanted to know—don't ask us why—how well a human being could adjust in thirty days to seeing the world, not to mention his sisters, his cousins, and his aunts, upside down and backwards.

The report is that Mr. Snyder has adjusted better than was expected, though what was expected isn't specified. At first he had trouble walking, eating, and reading. Now he's "much bolder" about walking, in spite of the fact that he seems to himself to be walking on the ceiling. He has learned to capture his food, though it appears to be clinging to a plate above him (personally, we don't think we'd like inverted brussels sprouts any better than the other kind, and we'd dislike the constant, if only apparent, prospect of being conked on the head by cobs of corn.) Mr. Snyder can now read a book, right to left and bottom to top—as he sees it—at the rate of ten pages an hour. The report didn't say how he makes out kissing his girl, but no doubt we can depend on her to correct his inverted sense of direction.

As it happened, we read about the experiment just as Yakov Malik was giving his version of events in Korea, and we shall always be grateful to Messrs. Pronko and Snyder for enabling us to complete our third Five-Year Plan for understanding the Soviet point of view. We all know by this time that every invention ever claimed for the poor old benighted West was really made in Russia B. C. (Before Capitalism and even Before Communism); and it's clear now that the Soviet point of view is based on the fact that Malik and Communists in general have been equipped for years with the kind of glasses Fred Snyder has been wearing. To anyone wearing inverted-vision spectacles it would be perfectly obvious that South Korea assaulted North Korea—though to us it looked like a jump backward. Malik's picture of

John Foster Dulles as the one who started the whole thing may have seemed far-fetched to most people. But if your living room floor were over your head instead of under your feet, that overstuffed chair would have a very ominous look; and we confess that if we saw John Foster Dulles upside down and suspended in air, we'd be darn sure he was up to no good. Churchill, head down with his cigar in his mouth, would look for all the world like a bomb already ignited; and even Harry Truman, upended and walking on the ceiling or balancing a grand piano on his hands and feet and playing the Missouri Waltz, would have the appearance of a threat to peace.

A RECENT advertisement for Canada Dry Water has us worried. The top line reads: How To Be a *Flop* As a Host and underneath it appears this legend:

Palm off any *ordinary* club soda or carbonated tap water on your guests. Sure, you can hide the label on the mixer from them. But you can't hide the flat taste the mixer gives their drinks. Your guests will "roast" the host.

Beside this searing paragraph is a picture of three guests looking with ill-concealed contempt at untouched drinks which have been mixed with some ordinary club soda if not carbonated tap water; you can tell that they are "roasting" the host.

The moral of the ad, of course, is that you should always serve Canada Dry if you wish to keep your friends and hold up your head in decent society—and we've learned our lesson. What worries us, however, is the fact that though we've often served ordinary soda and haven't even bothered to hide the label, our guests have not only drunk the stuff but come back for more. There's obviously something wrong with our guests, and it's no small thing at our time of life to discover that we've been entertaining people who don't insist on Canada Dry. It's too late to change our friends, but we hope Canada Dry will now run an ad designed to improve the quality of guests. It might go something like this:

How To Be a *Flop* As a Guest

Accept a drink of ordinary whiskey mixed with any old carbonated tap water. Take another. Take half a dozen. (Don't try to find the discarded label in your host's wastebasket—you couldn't read it by this time and your host has probably swallowed it anyway.) At two o'clock in the morning, if you haven't flopped yet, take a night-cap. This should do the trick, and if your host is sufficiently "roasted" he'll probably give you a prize—a bottle of Canada Dry Water—and put you to bed in the spare room or on the landing one flight down.

M. M.

Answer to Who's Who? (page 186): MacArthur, Tito.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Miss Bowen as Critic

COLLECTED IMPRESSIONS. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

INEVITABLY most of the interest that attaches to Elizabeth Bowen's "Collected Impressions" will derive from her novels. Idolaters will want yet another taste of the deliciously familiar; more reserved admirers will rejoice to see their favorite prance in pastures new; and the unsteady may well examine a work of non-fiction to precipitate judgments as yet dissolved in the novel's more liquid texture.

No one should be disappointed. "Collected Impressions," consisting of many reviews, four place-descriptions, two personal memoirs, and a technical, almost tough-talking note on novel-writing which is blessedly far from the usual advice-to-the-artlorn nonsense, is a group of short essays remarkable for their general level of literary excellence; steadily interesting by reason of their diversity, sincerity, and taste; and challenging as expressions of a mature artistic and moral philosophy which is the more attractive for being self-effacing.

Miss Bowen's style is so good, her very words so irresistibly pleasing, that she deserves more than the meed of quotation. There is, first, magnificent control: Miss Bowen gets her effect, is not thrown off balance by a phrase that is too good, does not (witness: a crushing review of "A Housewife in Kensington") lose her footing in pursuit of a book that is seemingly too bad for anything but a violent physical expression of contempt. Her vocabulary is precise and her ear is sensitive, so that, as in the use of the phrase "deference at a pretty substantial price" to express the relation between customer and couturier, she nearly always finds the word that sums the situation. Her store of metaphor, in addition, is broad, and her application spare. (Virginia Woolf's mind *is* like the weather. No more and no less.) Finally, Miss Bowen can hit the right pace. She moves smoothly and cleanly, sketching, in her

reviews, a plot or a history; she is sharp when she questions, urbane when she wonders, and grave in criticism. Even her sentimentality, and there is much of it, steeped in mellow appreciation for the bygone, comes off.

All this, of course, is daily cake for the Bowen regulars. So, too, is her special technique of evocation which, however, shows up rather differently in her critical work. Miss Bowen, in fact as in fiction, converts the abstract into character, compromises ideas in life, transmutes thought into some pedestrian article which the reader is more likely to recognize. In a word, she dramatizes; makes us, for example, see author Aldous Huxley as that nephew fellow we all know, admirable but exasperating in his cleverness; shows us George III's eldest daughters as *the girls*, and "King Lear" as a newspaper scandal story; treats society as "the getting-together of people." Moreover, susceptibility to this sort of dramatic metamorphosis constitutes Miss Bowen's aesthetic standard, and determines her range. Thus Virginia Woolf's feminism is irritating precisely because it is doctrinaire, is an attitude that transcends her life with her brothers, an attitude that has no perceptible referent in her own experience. Mark van Doren's Shakespeare criticism is recommended because it is so direct, so free of conditioned awe: "One might almost say," she remarks in meting out her highest praise, "that the plays of Shakespeare, for the first time published, had reached a reviewer working in good faith." And in her notes on the novel, Miss Bowen insists that characters must be not only spontaneous, but almost uncontrollable. In her own novels, of course, it is the connection between experience and idea that Miss Bowen studies. She works, so to speak, reflectively in the interstices of emotion, measuring, testing, and judging the passage from stimulus to reaction, consistently finding for subjects with short, uncomplicated passageways, innocents like Portia or Emmeline, or the public school lover in "The House in Paris," subjects for whom life is a spontaneous overflow.

Surely, it is this concentration, coupled with her technique, that makes Elizabeth Bowen as a novelist. But surely, also, the distinction between action and vision, life and idea, the natural and the doctrinaire, while it is fruitful, is not the sum of critical investigation. There are things which we have to judge, and which we cannot, or had better not, judge personally. Miss Bowen, herself, is a little embarrassed when she is confronted with the literary scholarship of Miss Ratchford's book on the Brontës. Her reference to a seventeenth-century Anglo-Irish trade war as "hanky-panky over the linen industry" is hardly enlightening. She is shallow—and it is a mark of her wit to note that the instance is unique—when she says "who cares now that Lawrence was an anti-intellectual? The intellectuals during the decade and a half of Lawrence's eclipse have had time to prove themselves; but have they taken us very far?" These are cases where there is a tension between experience and fact, where a statistical correction, a multiplication by years and heads, has to be made before personal impression becomes worldly wisdom. The sad point is that there are at least as many things in heaven and earth unfelt in our experience as undreamed of in our philosophies.

JOSEPH KRAFT

Men and Machines

THE HUMAN USE OF HUMAN BEINGS. By Norbert Wiener. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

PROFESSOR WIENER describes his new book as a version of *Cybernetics* intended for the layman, with less mathematical symbolism and more emphasis on the social consequences of his theories of "control and communication in the animal and the machine." There are still a few passages which the non-scientific reader may find a little hard to follow, but they do not interfere at all with the general presentation.

Cybernetics should not be confused with words like technocracy and dianetics which involve prescriptions for

the ills of mankind. Wiener has invented the word to describe a new field of scientific study, rather than a theory of behavior. He has some interesting theories, but they are properly presented as tentative and subject to much-needed further investigation.

One of the basic ideas is that we can learn a great deal about human psychology from the behavior of machines which men invent, and particularly from complicated machines like electronic calculators which have a capacity to "learn" and to "remember." The author himself, a professor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has made significant contributions in the development of such machines, including the solution of problems of fire control for anti-aircraft guns during World War II.

Anticipating further development of machines and automatic controls for machines, he says that already "in all important respects, the man who has nothing but his physical power to sell has nothing to sell which is worth anyone's money to buy." From this he concludes that the only sane course of development for mankind is the fullest possible use of the capacities of all human beings as human beings, and he violently rejects any totalitarian attempt to treat men as automatons. In a final chapter on Voices of Rigidity he inveighs with almost equal vehemence against fascism, communism, and the Catholic church.

Throughout, the book tends to wander off into by-paths which are frequently interesting but not always very closely connected with the subject. Like Lancelot Hogben, with whom he may be not unfavorably compared, Dr. Wiener sometimes uses an impressive exposition of scientific knowledge as a jumping-off point for the expression of essentially personal prejudices. Most of the prejudices are amiable, but those who disagree could show in a number of cases that the points are asserted rather than proved.

As a general approach to the problems of communication, cybernetics is obviously incomplete. The author is openly contemptuous of mass media such as popular magazines, most of radio, and practically all of television. His taste may be sound, but it is not sound in studying communication to

ignore or belittle the factors which make for mass appeal. The psychology of man as a social animal involves much more than the conversation of one individual with another; Dr. Wiener is almost exclusively concerned with discrete individual reactions.

Few would quarrel with the ideal of developing every individual's capacities to the fullest possible extent. Unfortunately, the practical problem of providing good mass education and at the same time giving maximum opportunity to the gifted is extremely difficult to solve, and this problem is here virtually ignored.

However, the book is filled with illuminating ideas, significant comments on recent scientific progress, and interesting guesses about the future. It is full of pungent phrases, such as, "Ourselves without faith, we presume to punish heresy." And it is another real contribution to the sound popularization of scientific knowledge.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Twentieth-century Painting

HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING. VOLUME II: MATISSE, MUNCH, ROUAULT—FAUVISM, EXPRESSIONISM. Text and Documentation by Maurice Raynal, Arnold Rüdinger, Hans Bolliger, and Jacques Lassaigue. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Albert Skira, \$12.50.

THIS volume presents a lavish coverage in color plates of a major segment of twentieth-century painting. Its predecessor, "From Baudelaire to Bonnard," explored the Impressionists and the late nineteenth-century precursors of Cubism and Expressionism. A third volume, "From Picasso to Surrealism," is announced for the near future.

The most striking contribution here provided is eighty-eight color reproductions of startling brilliance. The original paintings were selected with great taste and care, both for quality and for representativeness. Most of them have not been reproduced in color before. As in the earlier volume, these works come almost entirely from European collections, especially those in Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. The interested American public has enjoyed for some years a substantial and in-

creasing supply of good color reproductions of works in this country. Indeed we have been tempted to suppose that modern art can be studied adequately from American collections alone. It is good to be reminded that such a notion is quite erroneous. In fact, several of the artists here included are virtually unrepresented among us.

There are not many books about pictures in which the pictures themselves come first, and the text is directed mainly at them. Too often one is led to surmise that the artist's true role is to provide occasional illustration for the bright ideas of the critic or the historian of art. The texts of this volume are, however, useful in their own right as general essays on leading movements in modern art; and they are supplemented by elaborate chronological tables, bibliographies, biographical sketches, and lists of exhibitions. The latter can be particularly helpful for readers interested in the accessibility of the work of a certain artist at a given time.

Georg Schmidt's introduction provides an excellent summary of the main currents of nineteenth-century painting. Maurice Raynal's discussion of Fauvism brings out the conflicting individualities of the artists who comprised this movement. Derain's Fauvism was, by 1910, already subdued by his growing concern for a sober and grandiose solidity. Matisse emerges as a sort of sculptor-architect in chromatic disguise. The term Fauvism is really inept when applied to French artists. Wild-Beastism would have served German art better than that tame abstraction, Expressionism, has served it. Arnold Rüdinger's short but authoritative study of the Northern Expressionists begins with a concise definition:

The artists called Expressionists are far less concerned with art as such than with themselves and their fellowmen, as seen in a definite psychological predicament. And there is a world of difference between them and those who, following Cézanne and Seurat, seek for an objective intuitive perception of the outside world and new ways of rendering it.

Paula Modersohn-Becker, Kirchner, Schmidt-Rottluff, the early Kandinsky, the Norwegian Munch, the Swiss Hodler, the Belgian Ensor, the American Max Weber, the German Nolde, and the Austrian Kokoschka are all sur-

veyed. In addition, there are essays by Jacques Lassaigue on Rouault, greatest of the French Expressionists, and the Lithuanian Soutine, whose art developed altogether in France. It is interesting to observe Rouault's long and gradual evolution, sustained as it was by a strong sense of the more monumental and plastic side of French art, and by the immediate precedent of the work of Daumier.

All of these essays are interspersed with color reproductions, and as each of these has specific critical comment on the painting itself, the effect of the essay as a whole is never too abstract.

Short of a very recent trip to Europe, it is difficult to be sure of the quality of the reproductions. It is possible, however, to compare three of the Edvard Munch illustrations with the originals in the Munch retrospective now at the Museum of Modern Art. In *The Dance of Life*, *Jealousy*, and *Puberty*, the color is remarkably accurate if due allowance is made for loss suffered in translation from oil on canvas to printer's ink on glossy paper. There is some exaggeration of yellow throughout, which subtracts intensity from the blues and greens. But there is one very serious defect, at least in these three examples: each color plate is badly chopped at the edges. As a result, the full moon in *The Dance of Life* has a flat top, and there is an unfortunately sudden termination to the womb-shaped shadow which hangs so menacingly over the girl in *Puberty*. Such elisions can badly mislead the student in his response to the niceties of composition. Although they are an old and dreary story in art reproductions, it is unfortunate that they occur in a work which places such a welcome emphasis on quality.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Sartre on Baudelaire

BAUDELAIRE. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated from the French by Martin Turnell. New Directions. \$1.50.

M. SARTRE is a man with a system, and like other such men—Plato, Machiavelli, Freud, and thousands upon thousands of the less gifted—he demands belief, a belief in the efficacy of a certain act. In the course of making his demand, he resorts to every means at his disposal, and one of the most effective

of those means is the interpretative biography. For M. Sartre, in the superior confidence which he derives from the comprehensive structure of his ideas, may deal very much as he likes with his subject. He may tell us, for instance, that Baudelaire lied when we thought he was telling the truth. He may tell us that certain aspects of Baudelaire's personality, or certain episodes in his life, are of negligible importance. He may do these things, and get away with them, because he is not pretending to do anything else.

Yet his long essay on Baudelaire's personality has this advantage over fiction: although it sometimes seems like a story, it has at the bottom a real person. Baudelaire's name calls up real historical associations, and his life is confirmed by identifiable events and documents. There is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in M. Sartre's interpretation, although the picture of an "existential man" which he presents to us is quite patently not an actual human being. Like Plato's Socrates, this Baudelaire is at one time mythical and human; he is a real giant, a modern prototype. He is the heroic decadent who corroborates the symptomatic ideals of an age and at the same time exerts upon them a superhuman control. Whether or not he has any usefulness for the modern imagination will depend on the validity, or at least the acceptability, of M. Sartre's ideas—which is no question for a book review.

Perhaps the only point to be made in a short review—which is a disconcertingly anti-mythical form of anti-literature—is that the figure created by M. Sartre is not to be taken for Charles Baudelaire (1821-67), French Romantic poet. Otherwise, the essay is well written and well translated, colorful, interesting, and even—in a grisly way—exciting.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Books in Brief

RILKE, MAN AND POET. By Nora Wydenbruck. Appleton-Century-Crofts. \$4. Those who are interested in poetry as a calling rather than an accomplishment will find the trials and rewards, the exhaustions and triumphs of that way of life set down in this book. The author, in private life Frau Alfons Purt-

sch, was close to Rilke both through her artist husband and through her great relative, Rilke's most understanding patroness, Princess Marie of Thurn und Taxis. This is a straightforward biography, free from attitudes of adoration, less animus-ridden than the life written by Professor Butler, who seemed compelled to hate Rilke at times for all her admiration. There are still gaps in the narrative, for not all Rilke's correspondence has been made available, but some previous errors of fact have been corrected. Sympathetic in the right sense of the word, Miss Wydenbruck makes clear how silly Rilke could seem, how frail, how dependent, how self-pitiful, how morbid, yet how tough, how charming, how sane, how rigorous, how delighted, how devoted and true to the purposeful destiny that led him, consciously or unconsciously, through all the agonies of doubt and despair to the victory of the *Duinese Elegies* and the *Sonnets to Orpheus*. The book is indexed and contains many interesting illustrations.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

By Edwin O. Reischauer. Harvard University Press. \$4. Except for a few sticky attempts at national psychoanalysis, Mr. Reischauer has written a consistently excellent study, scholarly and readable, of Japan's role in world disorder. Given the economic problem of having to export heavy machinery which they are prevented from producing to nations who won't trade with them, and the political problem of maintaining security and suppressing militarism, the Japanese do not have an easy road. Yet if Mr. Reischauer's judgment of the Occupation is accurate, the Japanese and Americans, working together, may accomplish further miracles in the future.

As regards the past, Reischauer makes one point which demands amplification. According to Reischauer, the atom bomb had virtually no military effect, as the Japanese had already made a peace offer through the Russians, which the latter, anxious to invade Manchuria, purposefully garbled—with the result that the summer of 1945 witnessed "a race between the Japanese trying to get out of the war and the Russians trying to get in." Here, obviously is a matter on which the world deserves more information.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

MOZART's Mass K.317, which has been issued on LP records by Festival Recordings and the Haydn Society, was composed shortly after his return from Paris to Salzburg in 1779, when he was only twenty-three. The Kyrie, the Gloria, the Benedictus, and the Agnus Dei are very beautiful; but most impressive is the Credo, with an *Allegro* opening section that acquires tremendous power from its ostinato instrumental figuration, then a change to *Adagio* for wonderful passages on the words *Et incarnatus est* and *Crucifixus etiam et passus et sepultus est*, then a return to the *Allegro* with a lovely episode on *et in spiritum sanctum*. The Festival record (FLP 100) offers a Salzburg Festival performance in which Josef Messner conducts the Dom Chorus and Mozarteum Orchestra and a solo group comprising Hilde Zadek, soprano; Eleanor Gifford, contralto; Julius Patzak, tenor; and Hans Braun, bass—the soprano, who has most to sing, very bad, the other soloists good, the performance slow-moving and without brilliance, its recorded sound not well balanced and altogether not good. The Haydn Society record (HSLP 2007) offers a performance in which Hans Gillesberger conducts the Vienna Akademie Chorus and Mozart Festival Orchestra and a solo group comprising Rosl Schweiger, Gertrude Burgstaller-Schuster, George Handt, and Alois Pernersdorfer—the soprano good, the tenor superb, the contralto and bass very fine, the performance faster-paced, high-spirited, and brilliant, its recorded sound (on the limited-range phonograph I use in the country) good.

From the Haydn Society (HSLP 2011) there is also Haydn's Mariaszell Mass (1782), sung by the Vienna Akademie Chorus and soloists from the chorus with the Vienna Symphony under Dr. Gillesberger's direction. The work isn't one of Haydn's best, but has some fine moments—in the Gloria the lovely solo on *Gratias agimus tibi* and the chorus on *Quoniam tu solus sanctus*; in the Credo the solo on *Et incarnatus est* and a couple of choral passages; the Benedictus; the slow opening of the Agnus

Dei. The soprano soloist has a strong tremolo; the performance is insensitive, with disturbing pounding by the kettle-drums which may be the fault of the recording—another fault, that is, in addition to bad balance and high-frequency distortion.

And from Festival (FLP 101) there is also Bruckner's *Te Deum*, with Professor Messner again conducting the Salzburg Dom Chorus and Mozarteum Orchestra and a solo group comprising Stefanie Holeschovsky, soprano; Fanny Elsta, contralto; Lorenz Fehenberger, tenor; and Georg Hann, bass. The quiet sections of the work are very beautiful, and the dramatic ones are effective—except the closing *In te, Domine*, where I heard a straining for grandly impressive utterance that did not succeed, especially in the fugue. The soprano has a slightly tremulous voice of agreeable quality, the tenor and bass are very good, and the performance seems right. As recorded, the soloists seem close to the microphone, the orchestra behind them, and the chorus too far back for sufficient power. The over-all recorded sound (on my summer phonograph) is good.

As for Bach's Coffee Cantata, well sung by Uta Graf, soprano, Ralph Herbert, baritone, and Earl Rogers, tenor, with the Allegro Chamber Society on an Allegro record (AL 53), I find it as uninteresting this time as last.

Donna Anna's two great arias from "Don Giovanni," *Or sai chi l'onore* and *Non mi dir*, have been recorded for Columbia by Ljuba Welitch with Alessio de Paolis, tenor (in the recitatives), and the Metropolitan Orchestra under Reiner. Up to the concluding rapid florid passages of *Non mi dir*, which she manages to get through only with difficulty, her performances are excellent: *Or sai chi l'onore* is sung with superbly powerful style, if also with cold-steel quality in the powerful voice; and a more lovely quality is heard in the long phrase-lines of *Non mi dir*, and in the expressive singing of the recitatives. De Paolis's comments are well sung; the orchestra's playing is reproduced with insufficient power—which I think is the fault of poor balance in the recording rather than in my summer phonograph. For the rest, the record provides still another example of the misuse of LP for hodge-podges of small pieces (I

note a protest by Edward Sackville-West against this in his review in the *New Statesman and Nation* of the first LP's issued in England). In the present case Columbia seems to assume that anyone who wants a record of Welitch singing those two Mozart arias will also want a record of her singing some trashy songs by Heyse and Marx, or even Strauss's "Die Nacht" and "Cäcilie," or even Dargomizhsky's "I Grieve" and "The Miller" and Musorgsky's "Star, Tell Me"; or to have decided that he has to take them even if he doesn't want them. She sings the Dargomizhsky and Musorgsky songs ("The Miller"

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—JOHN K. HUTCHENS,
N. Y. Herald Tribune

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in some language other than Russian) better than the Strauss. The texts which should be provided aren't.

On another Columbia are excerpts from Act 2 of "Der Rosenkavalier"—the Presentation of the Silver Rose, with the best music of the opera, but continuing with the arid music of the subsequent conversation of Sophie and Octavian, all exquisitely sung by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and Irmgard Seefried; and the final scene, very dull just to listen to, sung by the excellent bass Ludwig Weber and the usual tremolo-ridden contralto, Dagmar Hermann. The orchestra is the Vienna Philharmonic (State Opera); and Otto Ackermann is listed as conductor for the finale. The texts essential for understanding the point-to-point musical invention, especially in the finale, are not provided.

FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

BACK in the days when Buster Keaton flipped through the air, thanks to a series of visual trickeries, the screen had movement and a certain kind of magic. W. C. Fields, Chaplin, and the Marx brothers contributed even more to the tradition of exploiting

camera effects for comic relief. Their automobiles raced madly through the air in reverse, sailed across chasms. This rather surrealist fun gave the screen animation and charm. Unfortunately, visual antics don't seem to be in style any more and the screen too often resembles a box set.

But among small documentary film makers, experimentation in optical illusion has been going on for some time. Norman McLaren and Phil Stapp are probably the best known names in the field of cinematic abstraction. Their output is small but it's stylish and witty. Made partly for experimental purposes and partly to provide programming relief for relatively heavy documentary evenings, their short films appeal primarily to the senses. They are so intense that more than a ten-minute stretch can leave you dizzy.

As an art student in Scotland, McLaren became interested in films and possessed by the urge to make one. He lacked the three best-known essentials for film-making: money, camera, and lights. But he produced something anyhow, and by doing it in a revolutionary way established his own unique cinematic technique.

First, he begged an old 35 mm. print and washed the emulsion from it. Armed with this piece of relatively clean celluloid, he painted colored patterns directly on it, improvising as he went. A happy blend of improvisation and professional skill distinguishes all of McLaren's work.

Perhaps the best choice for an introduction to the world of abstract films is "Fiddle-De-Dee," a kaleidoscopic pattern of color and odd shapes, designed to interpret the rhythms of "Listen to the Mocking Bird" as played by a folk fiddler. It runs four minutes, costs \$29.75, and rents for \$2.50. Along the same line, "Be Gone Dull Care" is a fine, giddy interpretation of jazz played by the Oscar Peterson Trio. It runs nine minutes, costs \$75, and rents for \$2.50.

To achieve his effects, McLaren now uses varying brush strokes, stippling, scratching, and spraying when painting on film. The painted track becomes a master positive for subsequent color release prints.

"Poulette Grise" (six minutes, \$50, \$2.50) demonstrates another McLaren technique. He feels that the evolution

of a painting is as interesting as the final result. For three weeks he worked on a tiny cardboard "canvas" with chalk and pastel, using a camera at various stages to record its growth.

McLaren has also experimented with synthetic sound, which he produces by drawing directly on the sound track. The number of strokes controls pitch, their size influences loudness, and their shape determines tone. "Dots" (2½ minutes, \$25, \$2) and "Loop" (3 minutes, \$25, \$2) are examples of synthetic track which sounds rather like percussion instruments. This music fits the simple, geometric patterns on the screen perfectly. The National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Sixth Avenue, New York City, releases McLaren's films.

Animation is usually thought of in terms of pure entertainment or comedy. During the war it did a much bigger job and since the war has served a broad social purpose. Phil Stapp's animations are fine illustrations of this type of film. His "Boundary Lines" is a passionate attack against racial, religious, and economic divisions that keep men enemies. It runs ten minutes, costs \$90, and rents for \$5. Another Stapp film, "Picture in Your Mind," is a further extension of this idea. It was suggested by the United Nations Film Board as a follow-up for "Boundary Lines." It runs 16 minutes, costs \$150, and rents for \$7.50. Rental information may be obtained from International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, New York City.

A. F. Films, also located at 1600 Broadway, distributes several experimental films. One of the most interesting is "Proem" which uses modelling clay for "characters." The plastic flow of clay follows the sound score. An allegory in eight scenes, "Proem" can be appreciated by anyone sensitive to the beauties of plastic movement, whether or not he understands "the message." It runs 10 minutes, costs \$100, and rents for \$7.50.

Perhaps the most gratifying thing about these abstractions is the feeling they convey that they are labors of love. Obviously not the machine-tooled products of Hollywood, they reflect an intimate relationship between the film and its maker. McLaren says, "To make with a brush on canvas is a simple and direct delight—to make with a movie should be the same."

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Letters to the Editors

What Asians Want

Dear Sirs: J. Alvarez del Vayo's fight against the ugly regime that is Franco's has been most inspiring. However, it is his article, Storm Over Africa [*The Nation*, July 8] that prompts this letter.

As a most unsophisticated political observer of twenty-one I saw the plight of the peasants of the Central Luzon Valley, damned as "Communist-inspired" by the typical right-wing alliance built up around Roxas and continued under Quirino. No honest man can say that the Huks wanted in 1945 more than bread and land and social justice—or that they received more than words followed by force. It is a rare day when a writer emphasizes, as Mr. del Vayo did, the universality both of the aspirations of the native peoples and of the nature of the regimes that control them, headed by a Malan, a Roxas, a Bao Dai, a Perillier—all as lesions arising from the infection of oppression and exploitation.

How can American policy be re-oriented to avoid further political bankruptcy among these peoples of Asia and Africa? How can American public opinion be mobilized to demand this re-orientation? Can it be mobilized in the face of increasingly conservative communication media?

WILLIAM F. LIPMAN

San Francisco, Calif., July 14

Declaration from France

Dear Sirs: The deadlock which, for several months, has prevented the proper functioning of the United Nations, and which has been caused, at least in part, by the non-admission to the U. N. of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, has disturbingly heightened international tension, now further increased by the development of the Korean conflict.

We think that the responsibility for the Chinese affair is shared by several powers, and that these powers have not made full efforts to reach some solution, agreeable to all, that would make it possible for the Chinese Peoples' Republic to enter the U. N.

We had hoped that the return of the Soviet delegation to the Security Council would be the occasion for a settlement of the deadlock. We regret that in

the first meetings of the Security Council presided over by Mr. Malik the participating members did not realize that they should adopt a more realistic attitude, in view of the gravity of the international situation.

It seems to us that the question of the admission to the U. N. of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, whose government has been recognized by certain great powers, could have been posed honestly, and not as a maneuver or a piece of blackmail. It is unjust that a nation of more than 450,000,000 inhabitants should see itself systematically excluded from international gatherings.

HENRI AIGUEPERSE, CHARLES D'ARAGON, COLETTE AUDRY, CLAUDE AVELINE, SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR, RENÉ BONISSEL, CLAUDE BOURDET, DR. LÉON BOUTBIEN, JEAN CASSOU, LOUIS DALMAS, ANDRÉ DENIS, ANDRÉ GIDE, J. J. GRUBER, JEAN GUEHENNO, DANIEL GUERIN, J. M. KRUST, MAURICE LACROIX, ADRIEN LAVERGNE, LOUIS MARTIN-CHAUFFIER, LOUIS MASSIGNON, ODETTE MERLAT, EMILE MITHOUT, ABBÉ PIERRE-GROUES, MARCEAU PIVERT, RAYMOND QUENEAU, PAUL RIVET, PIERRETTE ROUQUET, JEAN ROUS, J. P. SARTRE, VERCORS.

Paris, France, August 10

Referendum at Columbia

Dear Sirs: My interest in Carey McWilliams's article, Toward Real Fraternity [*The Nation*, August 12], leads me to call your attention to an important incident generally overlooked by the press. Last April, the Columbia College, New York City, chapter of Students for Democratic Action brought before the student council a proposal for the elimination of bias clauses in fraternity constitutions by a certain date. When the council rejected the proposal, the Columbia S. D. A. proceeded to obtain the signatures of 25 per cent of the student body on a petition to force the issue to a referendum. In the referendum, the student body, by a vote of 673 to 457, ordered the student council to set a date for elimination of the bias clauses. The council has not as yet acted on this directive.

It is important to note that the voting, restricted as it was to students at

Columbia College, did not include graduate students in the university, who are generally more liberal than their undergraduate colleagues. The younger students in the college come, for the most part, from conservative families, and the local fraternities draw wholly upon them for membership. Their recent vote is a heartening advance for liberalism.

SEYMOUR REISIN,

Executive Secretary,

Students for Democratic Action
Washington, D. C., August 15

Serious Omissions?

Dear Sirs: Facts on Films in your issue of July 22 has serious omissions for an article intended to deal with films made and used by unions. For example, no mention of "The Battle of Wall Street," produced by the Sailor's International Union, A. F. of L., full of facts and by no means conforming to the alleged "rigid and well-worn plot line"; or of the widely shown "Poverty in the Valley of Plenty," made by the A. F. of L. Film Council and now, unfortunately, withdrawn under legal threats by business interests; no description of some thirty widely used documentaries made and used by other unions; no references to the film catalogues and listings of the C. I. O. Education and Research Department, the Workers Education Bureau, the American Labor Education Service, the I. L. G. W. U. Education Department and kindred groups. The U. A. W.-C. I. O., which pioneered in producing the color cartoon "Brotherhood of Man" and which has done most in promoting movies among its locals, was completely ignored.

Two out of the three movies that were mentioned were made by the United Electrical Workers Union, expelled from the C. I. O. In the case of "Deadline for Action," unmentioned facts were that it was directed by Carl Marzani, a *Daily Worker* "martyr," jailed for obtaining a government job by false statements;* that it compiles carefully selected facts with exclusive emphasis upon past episodic scenes of labor conflicts; that it has been mostly shown to groups of employers by pro-

* Mr. Marzani's conviction was criticized by many journals, including this one. His final appeal lost in the Supreme Court on a four-to-four split vote.
—EDITORS THE NATION.

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ducers of documentaries searching for new business by way of rebuttals; that "Crossroads of America" was specifically produced to correct this party-line movie.

MARK STARR,
Educational Director, I. L. G. W. U.
New York, August 2

Style, Not Content

Dear Sirs: I am grateful to Mark Starr for supplementing my column with his letter. It contains valuable information for anyone interested in the subject.

I think Mr. Starr was unfair in expecting a comprehensive evaluation of the entire field of films made and used by labor. I would hardly have room to mention thirty films in one column, let alone review them. My intent was to give consideration to "With These Hands" and "Union at Work" because they are new. I also tried to summarize the state of labor films as I saw it from a cursory examination. My point of view was that of a film critic, not a labor expert. I do not think "Poverty in the Valley of Plenty" is a good film, theatrically speaking. My feeling about most union films is that they do not take advantage of the art of film-making. I

cited "Deadline for Action" as an exception. I was recommending it for style, not content, and it seems to me that Mr. Starr misread my statement: "It remains a mark to shoot at in terms of crisp, dramatic values."

I am always happy to look at more films in this field, see any catalogues and releases, learn about documentaries in the making. But I reserve the right to decide for myself what is good and what is not, esthetically speaking.

MARY ANNE GUITAR
New York, August 5

Full Coverage

Dear Sirs: Thank you for sending me a tearsheet of your issue of July 29 containing a letter from Dr. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., regarding our handling of Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner's book, "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect."

The facts are these:

When notice came that the book was to be published, our book-review editor wrote the publisher asking for a review copy, since it was on a topic to which we devote copious space. Before the review copy arrived, we received and published (under a large three-column headline) an article by Mel Most of the Associated Press giving generous coverage to the book. The book-review editor decided this story had thoroughly covered the subject and expressed opinions in the nature of a review.

The A. P. story was published last October 16. Charleston has several authorities on Gullah. Two of them promptly wrote follow-up articles on Dr. Turner's findings. One of these articles, which did not mention the book by name but obviously referred to the A. P. article, appeared on October 30. The other, which referred specifically to the book and the A. P. article, appeared November 13.

While I do not have direct contact with the *Evening Post* book department, I have learned they rejected Dr. McDavid's review because of excessive length. Incidentally, I wish to add that we have repeatedly published interviews with Dr. McDavid. I am at a loss to know why he attacks the "narrow intelligence" of Charleston editors or why you should be interested in publishing his attack on the local press. But, like taste, editorial judgment must not be disputed.

T. R. WARING,
Managing Editor,
Charleston News and Courier
Charleston, S. C., August 4

RESORTS

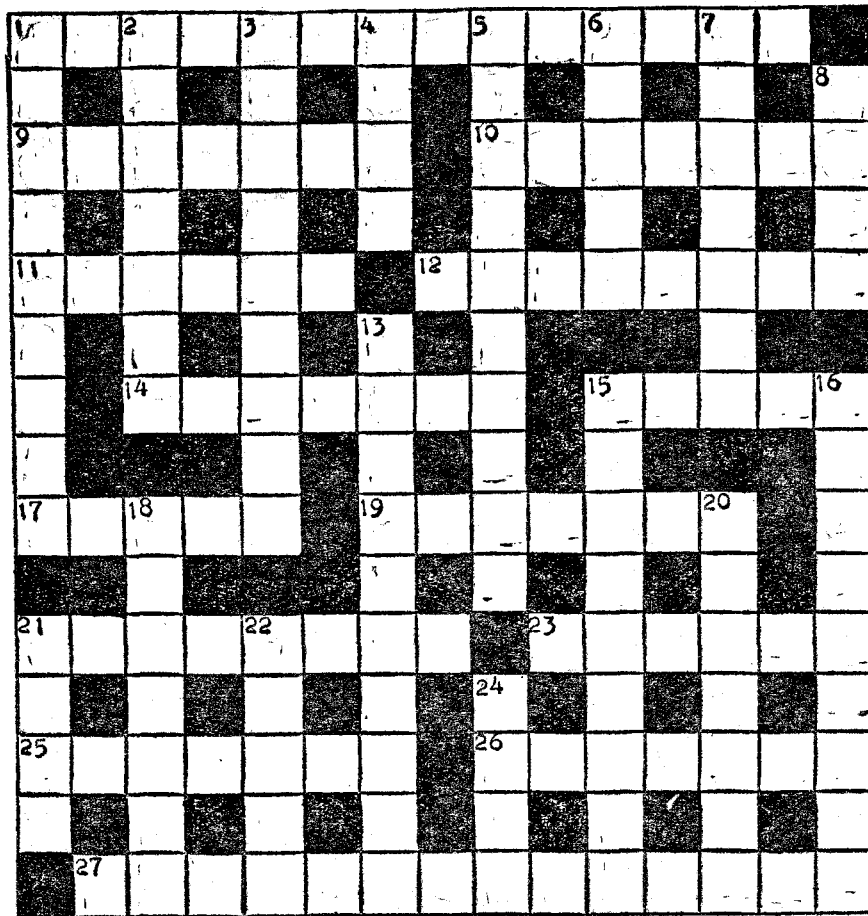
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Crossword Puzzle No. 376

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Molotov, perhaps, and oriental society might imply violence. (6, 3, 5)
- 9 Stares (over the pilot's bridge)? (7)
- 10 Common sign of loafers. (3, 4)
- 11 See 22 down.
- 12 Human practice of the jungle creature. (8)
- 14 He dares to get clipped. (7)
- 15 His inspector was generally found on the screen. (5)
- 17 The things some wrestlers go through! (5)
- 19 Equal cut? (7)
- 21 If ever a big change is made, it will mean extra words! (8)
- 23 Desert color. (6)
- 25 This part is almost double. (5-2)
- 26 Bulwer-Lytton's locale was pretty well covered. (7)
- 27 Probably brought up by Grant more than once! (With typical Northern aloofness!) (7, 7)

DOWN

- 1 Celestial throne? (9)
- 2 How a smug man might hold his liquor. (7)
- 3 Look up, and sort of listen overhead! They're in force! (9)
- 4 On a verge of collapse? Recess! (4)
- 5 How to make the rudder safe for men who go with confidence? (10)
- 6 Furnished with propellers. (5)

- 7 Preparing cheese, perhaps, for the grill. (7)
- 8 Is the unloved physician dropped? (4)
- 13 The British might say it sounds like a regular goose! (10)
- 15 Mixes and merges, but on the beat. (9)
- 16 Valentine from Syria, for example. (9)
- 18 Diffuse and supplied by the sound of it. (7)
- 20 A leader puts one in place for landing. (7)
- 21 Get in ahead of this if you want to put money to use. (4)
- 22 and 11 across. How the fish will come when you're on the soup? (2, 3, 6)
- 24 Box (of wood, quite often). (4)

— * —

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 375

ACROSS:—1 PARTY POLITICS; 10 ULTRA; 11 MECHANICS; 12 HEADSTONE; 13 YOKEL; 14 MANSLAUGHTER; 19 GROCERY STORE; 22 ISLAM; 24 ENTAILING; 25 TROUSSEAU; 26 ASHEN; 27 STICK-IN-THE-MUD.

DOWN:—2 ASTRAY; 3 TRANSLATE; 4 POMPOUSLY; 5 LUCRE; 6 TOADY; 7 CRICKETS; 8 OUGHT; 9 OSTLERS; 15 ANTITRUST; 16 GERMINATE; 17 EGOISTS; 18 GOAL POST; 20 VISHNU; 21 AGONY; 23 MUSIC; 24 ELEMI.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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